

# THE WORLD

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# TOMORROW



## The French disARMAMENT Plan

*H. N. Brailsford*

## Connecticut: A Case In Point

*Devere Allen*

Religion's New Shrine

JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

DECEMBER 7th 32

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**WHO PAYS  
THE SALES TAX?**

Neil Staebler



They have not always so clearly perceived the destructiveness of our economic arrangements and set out to build the new order from the ground up. Perhaps something is happening, at last, on college campuses. Fenner Brockway, who opened the conference with an address, expressed the belief that the American college campus of the fall of 1932 was a different world from the one he found there on his previous visit in the winter of 1929.

Among the factors most dangerous to the peace of the world in the present crisis, the conference recognized the fact that a first-class war would be hailed as heaven-sent relief for a prostrate capitalism just now. When Douglas MacArthur and Ralph O'Neil appeared before the War Policies Commission in 1924, they stated, in effect, that "patriotism was not enough" for industry; there should be a guaranteed minimum of six or seven percent profit to encourage our struggling owners to be brave in the next war. This youth conference answered: "No wars to give a dying order an extension of its lease on life! Cancel the lease now and remove the most efficient cause of war from the world!"

### Pity the Poor Railroads!

That the railway system of this country has fallen upon evil days is common knowledge. Among the diagnosticians of the situation, Mr. J. J. Pelley, President of the New Haven Railroad, recently offered the following explanation: "The transportation problem of today is the result of an orgy of subsidized transport. Our national transportation system cannot continue to function with progressive efficiency, part subsidized and part self-sustaining. This country cannot continue to pour in hundreds of millions of dollars each year to subsidize transportation."

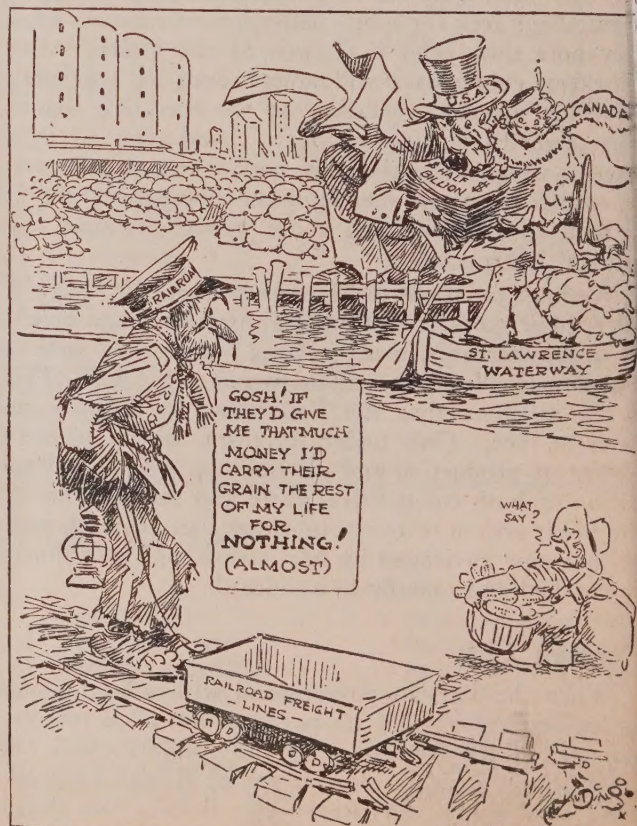
This railway executive is referring to subsidized waterways and to the tremendous advantages enjoyed by bus transportation in utilizing highways built and maintained at public expense. Mr. Pelley said not a word about the colossal subsidization of railways in the United States. One must look elsewhere for this highly relevant data. Professor Ripley of Harvard informs us that the total land grants by state and Federal governments in aid of railroads has amounted to 155 million acres, a territory larger than Germany or France, and nearly four times as large as all New England. A biographer of Jay Cooke once estimated that the Northern Pacific received 12,800 acres for each mile of track constructed, and reached the conclusion that "sold at only \$5 an acre the yield . . . would be much greater than the cost of constructing the line. It meant an income of about \$140,000 per mile in the territories, and a railroad should nowhere cost more than \$40,000 or \$50,000."

Not satisfied with princely gifts of land, railway

builders begged for cash subsidies and other special favors, and frequently were not denied their requests. Governmental aid was sometimes given in the form of tariff rebates on railway materials imported from abroad, free use of timber and stone for construction purposes, tax exemptions, and credits running beyond 60 million dollars. The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific were granted cash loans by the Federal Government to the extent of 16 thousand and 48 thousand dollars per mile of track constructed. Indiana went so far as to permit railroad corporations to issue paper money to pay for labor or materials. Furthermore, outright gifts by Federal, state and municipal governments to various railroads reached a stupendous total of 700 million dollars. Professor Ripley has expressed the opinion that these various forms of governmental aid to the railroads covered practically the entire cost of constructing all mile of track down to the year 1870, by which date the great transcontinental lines were completed.

Many factors have combined to plunge the railway of this country into a financial morass, but failure to secure public aid is not one of the reasons. Railway magnates are in the poorest possible position to complain, in view of the records, about subsidized transportation.

### Yes, Yes, Go On



J. N. Darling, in the New York Herald Tribune



## Neighbor, Mr. Trotsky

Thanks to the courtesy of a Socialist premier in Denmark and a general spirit of toleration in that country, Leon Trotsky, whose many fulminations against Socialists seem somewhat curious in the circumstances, was permitted to address the American people by radio from Copenhagen on Sunday, November 27. Trotsky can hardly be said to have stirred up any national enthusiasm or resentment; his talk before the students of Copenhagen University, if reports are to be trusted, was also something of a "flop". The other revolutionary leader paid a tribute to "Anglo-American culture" in the conventional style of interoceanic broadcasts; proved that he had predicted the coming of the eventual overthrow and helped to prepare for it (which everybody knew already); outlined the conditional bolshevik formula for revolution through the transformation of a bourgeois revolt into a proletarian seizure of power; gave some excellent homilies upon the worthwhileness of privation for a social end; predicted success for Soviet Russia, exercising a splendid restraint in his attitude toward Stalin, who expelled him; and in a reference to our American Civil War made one of the silliest and most poorly informed statements that we have ever heard from a world figure, though we have heard it often enough from shallow proponents of militarism.

"In the course of the Civil War in the United States," said M. Trotsky, "50,000 men were killed. Aren't those sacrifices be justified from the standpoint of the American people, from the standpoint of the political forces of America, of the Negro?" "Absolute!" he exclaimed. No, we say with equal insistence. To take his view is to reveal historic ineptitude, to expose a basic streak of romanticism. In the assumption that war was necessary to free the slaves, there is no truth: economic factors only remotely related to slavery were important in causing the conflict; Southern resistance to anti-slavery sentiment was weakening, and by economic concessions the North could have hastened the end of the evil; the war was begun not over slavery but through a combination of a background of economic sectionalism and the breakdown of Lincoln's statesmanship; and, finally, the United States was alone among many countries in freeing its slaves through war. Denmark gave up its colonial slaves in 1802. Great Britain had abolished slavery in 1833, freeing 1,000,000 in the West Indies, without war. In 1827 Mexico started the process of abolition, without war. France abolished slavery in 1848, without war. In 1789 Spain abolished slavery in Cuba, without war. In 1888 Brazil set 700,000 slaves free, without recourse to war.

What M. Trotsky and others of militaristic mentality do not see is that violence is a superficial incident in the real conquest of counter-forces in the modern

world, which proceeds by industrial victory. That this use of force in Russia, a non-industrialized country, appears indispensable, we can understand. But the least that can be said is that it has decided limits when applied elsewhere, either historically or as a method for the future. Emancipation by violence brought the American Negro not a true freedom, but Jim Crow conditions, long years of subtle social repression, and a train of emotional repercussions of which both he and the white South have been the tragic and unnecessary victims.

## Russia Steps Out

Pacts are, of course, no guarantees of peace; but there is ground for encouragement in the signing of the Franco-Russian treaty of non-aggression, especially when its detailed provisions are studied, and also when it is considered in contrast to previous Soviet-French relations. Only eight years ago a secret treaty was exposed in Europe under the terms of which Poland, with the connivance of France, was linked with Roumania, Jugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia against Russia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Lithuania, quite in violation of the League covenant to which most of these countries had adhered. The new agreement takes on importance when it is examined as not alone reflecting new attitudes in France and Russia, but as superseding the old illicit arrangements and bringing into line Poland and soon, it is reported, Roumania as well. Poland and France indubitably acted in concert, and are rumored to have won recalcitrant Roumania over from her insistence on Russian guarantees regarding Bessarabia. The resumption of diplomatic relations with China opens the way to a non-aggression pact in that quarter, and a similar rapprochement with Japan is probably more than idle gossip. These new commitments, together with the German and Italian trade understandings, open the way up for the Stalin policy of conciliation and will make not a little harder the task of those in this country who insist on opposing recognition.

The Franco-Russian treaty, if advance reports as we go to press are reliable, reaffirms the Kellogg Pact, of which both were signatories; if one nation is attacked by an aggressor the other is not to give aid to the attacking power; each country will respect the other's territories; neither nation shall enter into any trade arrangement to the detriment of the other; Russia withdraws propaganda in France and French colonies, and will not harbor exiles of the anti-French groups in Indo-China, Tunis, and Morocco, while France will not have to expel the White Russians concentrated in Paris and scattered along the Riviera, provided these do not organize into armed groups for assault on the Soviets.

It would be fallacious to think that anything other



than stark realism dictated these measures; but in any case it is realism that is working in the right direction.

## Why Is Chicago?

The very word Chicago has a world-wide connotation which suggests robbery, crime, and sudden death. And while loyal Chicagoans may wince under this odium and eagerly urge that there is also a Chicago which possesses Hull House and Jane Addams, a great progressive university, an art institute and a symphony orchestra, they are driven in their hearts to admit that while the evil reputation of the city is exaggerated, it is nevertheless a substantially accurate characterization of a devastatingly large sector of the city's life. One of the most interesting of sociological questions is therefore why Chicago is as it is.

Some have attempted to explain the turbulent crime and corruption of the city on the ground that it is composed of multitudes of people, torn from all parts of the earth and deprived of their cultural past, who have lost the restraint which small communities, infused with a living tradition, impose upon their members. This is indeed one thread of explanation, but it is not all nor even the most important. The basic cause, to our mind, is the fact that Chicago is swayed by the capitalistic spirit to a greater degree than any other large city in the world. For the city is conspicuously lacking in the balance which artistic, literary and even quasi-feudal groups give to the other metropolises of the world. Money tends therefore to be the common denominator of all values and its presence or absence determines not only material success but, for the most part, social esteem as well.

In such a situation as this, it is hardly to be wondered at if the children of the poor, growing up in those desolate wastes which lie back of the imposing lake front, should turn so largely to "the racket" as the best way of climbing the ladder of success. It is in fact about the only way they have of rising in the world and of escaping from the sordid bleakness of the working life and home environment of the toilers. They feel indeed that in so doing they are merely playing for the only prizes which the community in its inmost being sets its heart upon, namely, money and power. The glittering careers in industry and finance being closed to them, they embrace the only way of life through which they can achieve individual and material success. The spirit of the community engulfs them as, in subtler forms, it sways those from more favored environments.

In a second way, moreover, it is capitalism which helps to maintain as well as to create the gang. For if the only obstacles to good government in Chicago were the members of the underworld, they and the politicians who protect them would long ago have been

swept away from positions of dominance. The difficulty which has rendered futile all attempts to clean up the city has been that behind the politicians who have disgraced Chicago are not only the underworld, but large sections of the called upperworld as well. There are large groups of active and influential business men who have profited from the protection given the public utilities, from favors, public contracts and the like, and who have sought to keep in dominance the same forces which have protected vice and crime. That is at once the tragedy and the cause of Chicago's failure to live up to her fine potentialities. And the tragedy of Chicago is in a somewhat less lurid sense the tragedy of American life on the whole.

If the shade of John Calvin, who gave to capitalism its moral blessing, could but penetrate into the inner workings of the city which most embodies economic teachings, it could only be impressed with the ironical truth that what may liberate the creative energies of one century may poison the moral fiber of another.

## From Frying Pan . . .

Even before the election there were plenty of signs pointing to a swing of Negro voters away from the Republican Party, their traditional allegiance, into the Democratic fold. The election itself only confirmed what seemed previously certain. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has now compiled the reports received in response to a questionnaire on the election, addressed to Negro leaders all over the country. It declares that the nationwide surge of colored voters to the Roosevelt standard was due to economic conditions, the "lily-white" policy of the Hoover administration in the South, the nomination of Circuit Court Judge John J. Parker for the Supreme Court, the "Jim-Crowing" of Gold St. Mothers on their pilgrimages to France, discrimination against Negroes in the army, failure to appoint Negroes to federal office, and similar grievances.

If this is true, we can only say that among all the voters of the entire country who were swept up in the protest tide that elected Roosevelt, the Negroes have been the most shallow and least realistic of all. Obviously, they did not add appreciably either to the Socialist or to the Communist vote. In casting their ballots for Roosevelt, they have certainly gone from the frying pan into the fire. Not that Mr. Roosevelt has ever been distinguished for race prejudice; but that he has never done anything conspicuous against it and that he is the spokesman for a party that has shamelessly violated Negro rights and consistently trampled ordinary decency in human relations into the dust. It is the party that was careful, out of deference to Southern bigotry, not to insert a single plank on race



ions into its platform in 1932; it is the party n, at its quadrennial nominating convention at ston, Texas, in 1928, herded colored people off by selves, behind chicken wire.

e have welcomed, from time to time, symptoms of ng protest and an insistent militancy, by every non- nt means, on the part of Negroes; but we can deplore in strong terms the mob-minded thought- less that apparently has led thousands of Negroes ver the country to elevate to power the party that e enemy of everything on which the Negro race build if it is ever to free itself from ancient fet-

We do not blame Negro leadership indiscrimin- y, some of which came out bravely for a drastic age of Negro policy. But we do contend that a et task lies ahead of Negro leaders in all fields of eavor. It is a task that also confronts white leader- if ever we are to achieve a higher degree of po- al sophistication on the part of the American es. But there is reason for suspicion that Negro ists, because of the infinitely larger natural in- ive for a political revolt among colored people—a ellion which today seems non-existent—have a job their hands of even more staggering proportions.

## Specialized Housing

The greatest amount of popular enthusiasm can be used in our cities for a program of slum clearance publicly-aided housing. Even the most hardened ry cannot say a good word for the decaying slums ch now disgrace such cities as Chicago, Pittsburgh, adelphia and New York. They are unsanitary, eous in their ugliness and, as Clifford Shaw has wn, unfailing breeders of juvenile delinquency and e. No better social investment could be made n to replace them with garden apartments of the e which socialistic Vienna has been wise enough to d. Such a program is particularly opportune at the sent as a means of restoring employment to large nbers of workers and of providing that expansion of etary purchasing power which is needed to help us of the depression.

The fact that Reconstruction Finance Corporation ns must be limited to self-liquidating projects pre- ts present programs from really helping the vast sses of those who need decent housing most. For er even limited-dividend housing rents will have to \$9 per month per room and upward, and this is far ond the means of the overwhelming majority of skilled and semi-skilled workers. In order to take e of these groups there should be a large public ropriation which would be treated as a "sunk" cost d which would pay for itself in social terms even ough not financially. With this also should go the ver to condemn the needed land at not excessive ces.

There is needed in every city a group of concerned

citizens who will at once study this problem and with evangelistic zeal carry the message to the people. This is one of the most tangible ways in which idealists may harness themselves to reality and plant some of the seed-corn of the future. The masses of the people may well have difficulty in visualizing what the coöperative commonwealth would be like. But they know that they want better housing, and any honest proposal to provide it will strike fire in their breasts.

## The Cult of Unintelligibility

Modern art and literature has been afflicted in recent years by a growing cult of unintelligibility. The wild men of 1910, led by Picasso and Matisse, have given birth in the fields of painting and of sculpture to canvases and figures the meaning of which no man can discern. Ornstein in music and Gertrude Stein and her followers in literature have followed suit. And to those who confess that they are puzzled about the significance of all this, the devotees of obfuscation have but one implicit reply, namely, that it is just too bad that those of baser clay do not understand.

To our mind, the causes for this efflorescence of groups which make incoherence a cardinal virtue lie in the development of modern science. The old religious certainties have diminished and many have come to believe that life is at best a bad joke and at the worst merely "sound and fury, signifying nothing." The very complications of modern science have saved the intellectual and spiritual lives of many by giving them material upon which to test their intelligence and sharpen their wits. But those who have neither the brains nor the patience to subject themselves to such discipline take to an inarticulate mumbling as a type of self-defense and seek to preserve their self-respect by pretending that there is cosmic significance in what is clearly nonsense.

Now it may be true that there is no more foolishness in all this than in many of the false coherences of the past, but the road through bewilderment lies not there. Great art is that which embodies common desires and aspirations and is therefore in a sense both universal and eternal. If the gods may have ceased to walk the earth, there is still the curious animal man who needs all his brains and his idealism to carry him past the pitfalls of life. And only that which can speak to him with lucidity, with logic, and with human sympathy can ever touch the springs of his being. Art, in a confused age, consists not in a denial of coherence but in an attempt to fashion the apparently disorderly swirl of life into a coherent pattern. This requires more brains and courage than the relapse into artistic mumbo-jumbo of Miss Stein and her literary dervishes but it is at once more fundamental and rewarding. For Shakespeare will be primarily remembered for characters other than that of Launcelot Gobbo.



# Perilous Half-Truths

THAT was a wise man indeed who first grasped the significance of this combination: "The truth, the whole truth, and *nothing but* the truth." Truth-tellers often present a distorted picture of a given situation. Secretary Stimson's notes to several European governments which were released to the press on November 25 afford illuminating illustrations of this paradox.

The Secretary of State was within the truth when he said that the question of the war debts due to the United States is separate and distinct from the reparation problem. The legality of his position is unassailable, but politically and psychologically it is wholly untenable to our European debtors. Slowly and reluctantly, the Dictators of Versailles reached the conclusion that Germany must be relieved of further reparation payments, but at Lausanne a gentlemen's agreement conditioned this measure upon reductions of war debts by the United States. Any attempt to impose continued payments upon Germany would have disastrously explosive consequences within that country; whereas an endeavor to exact debt payments from France after reparation payments have ceased would infuriate the people of that land. Emotion is as real a fact as any written obligation. It is therefore both true and false to say that "the debts due the United States fall quite naturally within the category of ordinary debts. . . ." Moreover, the paradox is loaded with international dynamite.

Mr. Stimson also spoke the truth in saying that further reductions in war debts "would result in the inevitable transfer of a tax burden from the taxpayers of some other country to the taxpayers in our own. . . ." But he failed to point out that the removal of the entire reparation-war debt question from the international arena might produce economic benefits which would more than offset this extra tax load to the citizens of the United States. If by a political miracle the slate could be wiped clean of all war debts, there is abundant reason to believe that the economic, political, and psychological effects therefrom would quickly revive international trade to such a degree that the American people would actually be better off in dollars and cents.

Another half-truth is presented in the oft-repeated statement that our debtors are spending vastly more money on armaments than the amounts of their debt payments to us. The fact cannot be emphasized too often, on the other hand, that expenditures within a country are not in the same category as *transfers* of wealth to another nation. It is doubtless true that France's gold supply is adequate to enable her to make

the payment due on December 15. But this is not of other debtors, and would not remain true of France for an indefinite number of payments. In the case of Great Britain, from whom the heaviest payments due, the transfer problem has been rendered enormously difficult by the fall in the price level, currency depreciation and the decrease in the volume of world trade. Attention has recently been called to the fact that the change in the price level since the war debts were contracted compels the debtor to send 40 per cent more commodities in re-payment, while the depreciation of sterling makes it necessary for Great Britain to expend 45 per cent more pounds in purchasing dollars required for debt payments. Moreover, the United States is now borrowing on long-term bonds for three per cent, a lower rate than Great Britain is paying on her war debts. If three per cent is considered a fair rate, Great Britain has received no reduction whatever, but in fact is being overcharged. Thus it is apparent that, when the price level, the strength of sterling and the rate of interest are considered, Great Britain is the victim of flagrant injustice.

But the question of making debt reductions conditioned upon armament reductions remains to be considered. Elsewhere in this issue we present an article which places emphasis upon *unless* and *until*. From the angle of the United States this is desirable and politically imperative if further debt reductions are to be forthcoming. From the standpoint of European taxpayers also such a condition is desirable. But the proposal is politically dangerous if presented in such a way as to be interpreted as a threat or an attempt to coerce European governments into lowering their armies and navies below the level they otherwise would be ready to adopt. In our opinion the correct procedure for the government of this country to follow would be to enter a general international conference with a readiness to examine afresh all war debt armaments, security, tariffs and other economic questions, and to manifest a willingness to make equitable adjustments. An unyielding attitude by Congress may provoke our debtors into default or repudiation, with utterly calamitous consequences to all concerned.

Every nation involved in this war debt controversy believes firmly in the validity of its position. We should never forget, however, that international disasters result from a collision of good cases. This is just one more of the numerous instances in international relations when psychological factors are destined to play a role of tremendous import, even though they have an economic basis. Moods as well as facts must be considered.





## as Brailsford sees it

### The French Plan

FOR reasons not very easy to analyse, the French plan for the organization of European armies—for to call it armament is laughable—was at the first glance popular in England. As it is disclosed in the speeches of MM. Herriot and Paul Boncour, it struck us favourably by its apparent generosity. Here at last was a frank recognition of Germany's claim to equal status: we could hear the clearing up of the ugliest chapter of the Versailles treaty, and we liked the sound. It worried no one that Germany should again possess a national conscript army: everyone called it a militia and compared it to the Swiss institution, which for mysterious sentimental reasons is popular in England, though recent events in Geneva may now foster doubts. The proposal for the creation of small professional forces placed at the disposal of the League of Nations did not interest us deeply, for we are exempted from this dubious arrangement. Lord Cecil, who speaks for the organized peace movement, bestowed his blessing on the idea. Even more remarkable was the approval of Sir Herbert Samuel, the Liberal leader, for the Liberals have been for many years the most suspicious critics of French policy. The dominant feeling was, I suppose, that at last something concrete was emerging from Geneva; it might not be disarmament, but if it made everyone happy it would serve us well. For my own part I distrust this facile welcome. Lord Cecil's contentment is a bad omen, for if you want to know what John Bull will think, it is usually safe to assume that his view will be the exact contrary of Lord Cecil's. A month hence, I suspect, the doubts and the reservations will have accumulated, till they over-balance the original welcome.

If I venture to set down my own first impressions of the French scheme, I must warn the reader that they are the fruits of solitary reflection: they do not pretend to be typical. In the second place, they are provisional, for I am not sure that I have grasped the scheme. The published memorandum is so vague, so full of seeming contradictions, so loaded with qualifying phrases: "gradually", "by stages" and the like, that one can only guess at its meaning. I suppose it means that Germany may create a short-term conscript army for defence. I suppose she will also contribute her small heavily-armed contingent of pro-

fessional troops to the League. I suppose she will send her unit to its air-force. But if so, the emphatic repudiation of rearmament means nothing

at all. I cannot solve this contradiction, but doubtless there are casualists among the experts in Geneva capable of this gymnastic feat. I suspect that the scheme has been heavily revised by the French General Staff, and that when it is uncovered in all its concrete details, with dates and figures, it will not seem so startling in its generosity as it did in the first rhetorical summaries. The wisdom of conceding equality "by stages" does not impress me, for while anything is held back, Germany will agitate for more.

LET us be realistic. This is not disarmament, nor does it bear even a distant family likeness to any honest plan for the reduction of armaments. It will, indeed, reduce the period of service in the French conscript army, and in those of her allies, by several months, which means a boon to her youth and an appreciable economy. To balance this gain, however, there will be in Germany and presumably in the other ex-enemy states, a considerable addition to the number of men under arms, and a steadily growing total of reservists trained for war. One need not examine the traditional French reasoning, which has its roots in history, by which short-term conscript armies are represented as essentially "democratic" and in some peculiar sense "defensive." All this is irrelevant, for France proposes to retain a professional standing army as well as this "militia." Part of it will normally be assigned to colonial service, and part of it will be placed at the disposal of the League. Am I a philistine when I say that these amusing changes of nomenclature do not seem to me plausible? Whatever these forces are called, they will consist of highly trained French soldiers under French command, ready at call on French soil, for any purpose which a French government may approve. With the legions of Africans they will march where they are sent, and they will take their orders, when the hour arrives, not from Geneva, but from Paris. Nor is there here any promise of equality, even if it should turn out that the defensive armies will really be numerically equal. France will have, to ensure her hegemony in Europe, her navy, her marine infantry,



her coloured troops, and finally her vast reserves of "offensive" material, sealed indeed for the League's use, but prudently retained in her own arsenals, of which she keeps the key.

NEED one discuss how far the elaborate plan of "security" under the League's auspices will prove workable? As I read these confident clauses, describing the mechanism by which the League will detect the aggressor and launch against him its fleet of bombing airplanes and its contingents of mobile professional troops, two words floated before me on the page: "Manchuria" and "Shanghai." I readily believe that these contingents will march and these planes fly in any direction which accords with the interests of the governments which control them. I have no doubt that if Germany were to invade Poland, there would be a rush through the air towards threatened Warsaw of French, Czech, Roumanian, South Slav and Belgian airplanes. I do not know what the Italians would do. But were the aggression in the contrary direction I have no conviction that the Roumanians would fall on the rear of the Poles, or the French speed to the defence of Berlin. I do not suggest any breach of faith or any repudiation of a duty. Day after day, month after month, round the table of the League's council in Geneva, statesmen would utter the most edifying moral sentiments. They would give admirable advice to both combatants. They would send a Lord Lytton, possibly many Lord Lyttons, to survey the scene of devastation. They would publish a very readable report. But would they bomb the aggressor?

If I write pessimistically about this conception of organized coöperative security, it is not because I reject the principle. On the contrary, I have repeatedly advocated it. In the long run I can conceive no other solution of the problem of safety and armaments. But to propose it today, while Europe is still built on the pattern of Versailles, is to organize a police force to guarantee intolerable wrongs. France within this year has torn up two of the ugliest chapters of the Treaty. She has virtually renounced reparations, and conceded some distant approach to equality in arms. She leaves the Polish frontier as it was, with the snarling provocation of the Corridor. There she shows less than her usual logic. It was immoral, but it was logical to disarm and impoverish Germany, so that in enforced passivity she must tolerate this wrong. It shows, if you will have it so, an advance in kindness to stop the process of impoverishment, and to allow her to re-arm, but a sad decline in logic. For if Germans again have arms in their hands, will they forever view this wrong passively? They may not strike at once, but assuredly they will await their hour, arming for this purpose, and seeking allies. Possessed once more of an army, their alliance will

be courted. Nor is the Polish corridor the only grant offence that calls for redress. There is veto on Austria's union with Germany. There is scandal of the South Tyrol. Turn eastwards, the fingers of one hand would not suffice to enumerate such questions.

France has torn up too much of this Treaty for peace of resignation, too little for a peace of confidence. If she had prefaced her plan by a promise of disarmament, disarmament would have been easy. Europe needs neither armies nor bombing planes to preserve the security of the Poland that is truly Polish, Germany that is genuinely German, the Italy that talks Italian. Settle these questions of national strategy and the lust of power distorted at Versailles, and nine-tenths of this terrific apparatus of force might be scrapped on the following day. To concede arms to Germany, unless you mean to right her wrongs, is rank imprudence. But if her wrongs were righted would she sigh for arms? To put the same thing in another way: coöperative security is the reasonable solution, when the League can ensure desirable changes by peaceful means. When all is rigid under the veto of the conquerors, it can mean only the stereotyping of a dictated settlement.

Over the rival merits and mischiefs of professional armies and national militias one may argue indefinitely in the void. But no one can doubt what a description spells in a Germany that has come again under Junker rule. It means the military discipline of the workers under the old ruling class. It means class ascendancy. It rests on a cult of prompt obedience, which will be used to break the loyalty of the workers towards their labour union and the party of the Left. It can come only by dictation from above, against the impotent repugnance of the workers themselves.

For these reasons, though I admit that as yet mine is a solitary voice in England, I view this French scheme with hostility and distrust. It is not disarmament. It is not equality. It accumulates force which would be unnecessary if we could but bring ourselves to dispense justice first. I do not think that the plan will be adopted. It has none the less done its work. It has authorised Germany to re-arm.

*H. N. Brailsford*

London, November 15, 1932

### A Request

We would be grateful for the return of any extra copies readers may possess of our issues for January, February, March, July, September 14 and October 5 of this year.

THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N.Y.C.



# Unless and Until

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

AT the outset let me explain that, from the day of American entrance into the War, I have favored the complete cancellation of the Allied debts owing us. At that time we proclaimed that it is fully as much our fight as our Allies', and that we had entered it late; we paid a relatively small part of the cost in men and money, though best able to pay; if we meant what we said, it seemed to me that the least we could do would be to assume some share of the financial burden the Allies had carried while we held aloof. But I have spent 12 of the past 24 months in Europe with some opportunity to study the progress of events at close range and to gauge their probable development. I return unreservedly opposed to American cancellation *unless* and *until* the nations of the world agree to radical armament reductions. A 12-month immersion in the atmosphere of European realities has forced a complete reversal of convictions.

The case against cancellation, *except* on these conditions, rests upon two false premises:

1. In it alone is promise of some measure of substantial tax-burden relief and consequent aid toward economic recovery. The peoples of Europe are being deceived by a studied misrepresentation of the facts of the economic situation. They have been told until they fully credit the statement that it is the burden of the war debts which now strangles Europe, and that once that is lifted economic recovery will at once ensue. One meets that declaration on every hand; it is the almost unchallenged premise of all discussions of the depression alike among political leaders, editorial writers and common citizens. And it seems finally to have captured a considerable element of liberal opinion in the United States. But it is a palpable misstatement of the case. In so far as it is the tax burden which has deepened the depression and now impedes recovery (and the tax burden itself may be a relatively small factor), the halter around Europe's neck is not the burden of war debts but the cost of armaments. That is the plain fact of the situation; it is largely a matter of simple statistics.

It is obvious that the amounts now actually paid us by our debtors are not large sums and by no figment of the imagination could be regarded as the decisive factor in national finance. The only possible exception is Great Britain. But even in the case of Britain, present payments on account of her American debt represent less than one-sixth of her annual expenditures for armaments. In other words, of the five shillings which each British tax-payer contributes from every pound of

his income, somewhat less than one shilling goes to America, something over four shillings to Britain's own armament upkeep, and the infinitesimal remainder for all other national expenditures. Moreover—and this is the crucial point—a reduction of one-fifth in the present charge for armaments would actually relieve the national budget more than a complete wiping-out of the American debt. The London *Spectator* has stated the facts of the situation far more realistically than our radical press. In commenting upon Senator Borah's debt policy, the *Spectator* said:

To put Mr. Borah's thesis in a sentence, he insists once more that there is no good reason why America should remit the debt payments due from Europe when her European debtors are spending year by year on armaments eight times the amount of their debt payments to her. . . . No one who has watched the evolution of Europe since 1918 can refuse to admit that the Senator's words are, in the main, profoundly true.

2. In cancellation lies the only hope for substantial reduction of armaments. A recent editorial in THE WORLD TOMORROW suggested that "The removal of the whole debt question from the international arena would enormously increase the probability of a successful outcome of the disarmament conference when it convenes some months hence." As far as I can see, there is not the slightest ground for that optimistic expectation. Indeed, the realities of the situation are just exactly the reverse—the only likelihood of tangible results from the conference lies in American refusal to cancel unless and until definite agreements for radical reductions in armaments are reached. The plain fact with which liberal sentiment in America must come to grips is that there is no will to peace and no conviction of the practicability of disarmament among the leaders of government. Nor is it likely that they will be converted to action unless to the hope of their peoples is added the pressure of some far more coercive consideration. War debts offer such a consideration.

Surely the great need of the hour is for realism, and nowhere more than in intelligent radical opinion. One of the first steps in such a realism is the recognition that the blotting out of Europe's debts can work little significant direct benefit to the economic debacle; but that it is within the realm of possibility that they may still be used as leverage to pry statesmen loose from their stupid militarism, and so to bring a measure of relief, not only from the burden of taxation but from the ever-ominous threat of war.



# Religion's New Shrine

JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

**S**Ocial welfare is dominated and measured by the operation of a variety of functional groups. The number of these has increased as our society has become more compact and its processes more complicated. The three or four old "learned professions" have been joined, one might almost say have been submersed, by other groups advancing to professional status, and discharging functions quite as essential to the common good. Submersed is not inaccurate when reckoning is made of motivations. The older professions have yielded to the spirit which the younger have brought up with them in their climb, and have become dominated by a similar aggressive, grasping disposition. All have become commercialized. Young men now enter the old professions of medicine and law with the dominating motive to roll up personal fortunes. This is something new. Whether it is good or bad, socially wholesome or the contrary, it is not the old professional motivation. Professional honor once did not inspire to, indeed did not permit, the amassing of personal wealth.

Whatever be the significance of the multiplying of skilled functional groups, there can be no doubt that it has taken place. So completely is the community life dominated by these groups that there is scarcely any other area left. One of the reasons why Marxism has made such little progress in American thought and life is that Marxism demands the uprising and domination of the proletariat, whereas there is no proletariat in America. The zone of unskilled labor narrows towards the vanishing point. Even groups commonly classified as unskilled are organized into guild unions. These organizations give the workers a sense of solidarity with the members of their guild, and they gauge their social obligations by the relations of their guild to the community.

This is a social process to be reckoned with, no matter what "ism" may determine the actual organization of society. The functional group must have much the same recognition, whether our civilization shall remain a capitalism, or become a socialism, or a communism, or even a fascism. Vocation is the most potent fact of life, and human relations are most vital and sternly motivating in vocational areas. No professional practitioner, no tradesman, no artisan, no artist, lives and works out of intimate relations with fellow-artists, fellow-artisans, fellow-tradesmen, fellow-members of his profession. The socializing processes are fundamental here. This is a basic human relation, the individual citizen in his vocational guild.

It is here that religion must begin and run deep.

This area has not only been neglected by official religious agencies; they have not even set in order their own professional household. For ecclesiastical ethics are, to say the best for them, not a model. Furthermore, our churches are not structurally competent in the mediation of religion through all the other functional groups. If these ever get religion, it must be each in its own right and through its own free motivations. An outside mentor cannot shape ideals for them, and clap them down upon passive, not to say unwilling pupils. Each must set up its own shrine of religion, must work out its own ethical code, determine and discharge its own obligations in the service of the common good.

**T**HIS, then, is the basic principle upon which ethical religion must rest. Each profession, guild, functional group, must put service to the community first in its guild code, and hold each member of the group rigidly to adherence to that motivation. Even one of these functional groups is already organized as such. Some are much more highly organized than others. Some already embrace practically all of the practitioners in the group, and others have enlisted only a fraction. But practically all are on the way to compact and increasingly potent organization.

Furthermore, all already render at least lip homage to the motive of service as over against individual or even group greed. This is a recent development, but is perhaps all the more promising that it is so recent. Even a cursory study of the programs of the various guild conventions will reveal a struggling idealism. Read the legends on the wrapper of your laundry package, and note the aspirations to "service" in its text. The soap manufacturers stand out among our foremost idealists. Even the community's dirty-work is thus being idealized and motivated in the terms of the common service. The line of development for ethical religion is thus marked out for it. This tendency must be accentuated and accelerated.

Carried forward to logical conclusions the tendency will bring about a remolding of our ideas of ethics as well as alterations in the social mechanism by which ethical religion is mediated. The ethical codes promulgated by our churches and by most of our schools are farcical. In Sunday school the youngster is drilled in formulas of personal conduct as though his life were to be lived on an individual basis. The college graduate is sent forth under a rain of preachments about his duty to maintain high standards of personal character. Most of these preachments and formulæ



conduct are piffle. Young people emerging into work-a-day life soon discover that they are meaningless worse. To be sure, no young fellow entering the law need sink to the ethical status of the shyster, but if he means to practice law at all he must practice it as law is being practiced. He can no more depart as an individual from the ethical standards which his profession commonly maintains than he can step out of a sand-box into the society of Dahomey and find himself at ease. The injunctions under which he sets forth on his career should emphasize his first and foremost duty to identify himself with his professional group. Loyalty is a prime virtue. In this sense of professional or group loyalty he must bend his wisest and most conscientious efforts toward lifting or otherwise altering his profession's ethical code where it is defective. Judgment passed upon him should be based on his moral discernments and his consistent activities looking to that end.

It follows, also, that every lawyer is to be judged by what the legal profession as a whole is doing. For any lawyer to suppose or to be permitted to pretend that he is not culpable with his profession is to sacrifice the sanctities of true religion. A medieval saint is said to have gone to his couch each night with the confession, "O God, I repent of the sins of humanity." Any right conception of personal, individual responsibility carries with it a recognition of binding social obligation. No individual has a right to continue complacently in the practice of any profession or in the conduct of any business whose ethical code he as an individual must condemn.

It follows still further that the community's pressure upon these several groups must be unremitting, demanding that they put the community first in all of their practices and projects, and that they enforce their code of ethics in the common practices of all members of their group. Of course, it follows also that the community shall accord to each group the power and authority to make good this responsibility. This latter will call for some radical re-adjustments of social practice.

Among all the groups in our society, the one over which I have personally felt the most hopeless is the legal profession. It is evident to the thoughtful that we are helpless in the grip of the criminal until the legal profession shall assume its responsibility for the present state of affairs, and bring forth fruits mete for its repentance from its present lethargy and smug complacency. Yet the other day as I sat by my radio I listened to an electrifying address to the American Bar Association by one of its own members at one of its sessions in Washington, when this obligation was accepted for the profession, and a program was laid out through which the obligation can be discharged. Three points in this proposed program particularly impressed

me. There should be a self-controlled bar. The profession must be permitted to define its codes, determine admissions to its membership, and purge itself of those who will not or cannot qualify. In the second place, there should be a judicial council of legal experts sitting permanently, whose duty it should be to study legal procedure and recommend changes which will make for efficiency in practice and for the conservation of the community's interests. In the third place, the courts should be self-controlled, making their own rules of procedure in the light of experience in serving the public welfare.

WE laymen ought to insist that the legal profession shall be accorded all of these demands. If legislatures are now on the lawyers' backs, we must pull them off. Along with the fixing of social responsibility upon our professional and other functional groups must go, of course, the investing of each with power and authority to discharge its responsibility. This procedure involves perils. Life is perilous anywhere and always. But here hopes and necessities are immeasurably greater than the perils. Along any other course there lie known evils. We are in for this business. We have fabricated a society of such technical intricacy that the common destinies at every turn hang upon the efficient functioning of these numerous guild groups. If the lawyers do not extricate us from the present slough of crime we can only sink deeper. If the doctors do not lead in the promotion of public health we shall continue to run wildly here and there after the latest health faddist. If the bankers do not construe their task in terms of the public service, finance can only become a more intense scramble after personal pelf till the whole fiduciary system goes down in wreck.

And so on, through the ramifications of business and manufacturing and engineering, among skilled crafts and even the unskilled groups of workers. Each must consciously assume responsibility for the common welfare within the range of its particular function. We can never build a civilization upon the ethics of the jungle. Individual greed can never supply the motivation for technical and professional skill. The community is not merely the worker's meal ticket. Members of our technical groups must not continue merely as a high order of brigands. The community must hold each group responsible for the common welfare, and each must accept the assignment.

Nor can each operate in its own little pocket. The ultimate shrine of ethical religion is the community itself. There is safety and re-assurance in the very number and variety of these groups. Our society can never become the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor of any other single element in the population. The interests of all the others are at stake in the efficiency and sufficiency of each. The sense of citizenship is the



balance-wheel and regulator of all group activities. The very complications of our technical civilization will prove its salvation. Coördination in the one community life is a prime necessity in the development of each and every technique. The tendencies already pointed out indicate that this coördination is in process. The clearer-headed, truer-hearted members of each of our functional groups are already disciplining their greedy fellow-members with considerations of the common good in the conduct of their profession or business.

All this opens almost innumerable practical questions. How shall the lessons learned in the present depression be applied? Shall we drift on and after a season of recovery do it all over again? What shall be done about the Insulls who have not been trapped?

Shall the Bank of the United States be permitted repeat its tragedy? What ethics are involved in possession of a three-million-dollar yacht by a man who had nothing 20 years ago? And so on. Such questions are the concern of ethical religion. It is fair to ask how our principle is to be applied to each situation. We manifestly gain little by an idealism which satisfies itself with academic formulas recited in classroom and shouted from pulpits. We have enjoyed the fruits of such religion this long time, and we are where we are today. More practical procedure is necessary if religion is to mean anything and achieve anything. We are stumbling toward some of these practical goals and intelligent direction alone is needed to bring our society on to solid ground.

## Who Pays?

NEIL STAEBLER

THE sales tax will undoubtedly give us our first insight into the economic program and philosophy of the "New Deal." Though not yet in office, President-elect Roosevelt cannot escape wielding a decisive influence upon the lame duck session of Congress in which the sales tax will undoubtedly be brought up for enactment.

That a tremendous effort will be made to sell it to the country is already apparent. Newspapers are busy getting their readers accustomed to the notion that its adoption is inevitable. Among its most outspoken proponents is Mr. Raskob, who hails it as a great step toward recovery.

The arguments for it are (1) that some large source of revenue is necessary to balance the budget; (2) that a sales tax will not discourage private initiative as higher income taxes would; (3) that a sales tax is politically feasible, i.e. people will not object to it; and (4) that it is the one tax which can be depended upon to produce a fairly definite and steady revenue. In other words, the analysis is the familiar Republican contention that recovery will be brought about by the investment of private funds in private enterprise and that the one way to encourage the process is to prevent further tax burdens from falling upon capital and capital returns.

Since the only alternative to taxing capital or the profits of capital is a tax upon consumption, the conservatives are brought round to the advocacy of a sales tax or an excise tax, or (to spare the Democratic sensibilities) a tariff for revenue.

Some very pertinent information concerning a further tax on consumption may be found in the following tables prepared by *Business Week*.

DISTRIBUTION OF CONSUMER EXPENDITURES  
BY INCOME GROUPS—1929

Income Group (Thousands)	Goods & Services (Millions)	Taxes (Millions)	Savings (Millions)
\$1,000 and over	\$ 87	\$ 236	\$ 1,045
500 under 1,000	95	132	567
300 " 500	127	126	518
150 " 300	523	209	563
100 " 150	481	138	335
50 " 100	1,268	285	712
25 " 50	2,002	250	969
10 " 25	4,529	211	1,326
5 " 10	5,614	169	941
3 " 5	9,205	197	1,821
2 " 3	12,004	232	1,455
1 " 2	35,506	347	1,806
Under 1	17,633	153	485
TOTAL	\$89,074	\$2,685	\$12,543

If the income groups are divided at the three thousand dollar point, we observe a sharp class distinction between a spending group and a saving group:

INCOME CLASS	% of Total Consumption Goods & Services Spent by each Class	% of Total Saving Made by each Class
Group of \$3,000 income and less account for	73%	30%
Group of incomes over \$3,000 account for	27%	70%
	100%	100%



VEN allowing for the impossibility of securing accuracy in the compilation of these tables, it is apparent that the purchasing of consumer goods—things to eat and wear and use personally—comes preponderantly from the recipients of small incomes. On the other hand the money with which factories are built and equipment purchased—the equipment that produces the stuff we consume—is supplied preponderantly by the wealthy.

This point is even more clearly revealed in the table from *Business Week* which appears at the end of this article. At one extreme, it will be noted, the \$1,000 income class saved 2.7 per cent, paid .8 per cent in taxes, and consumed 96.5 per cent of its income; at the other extreme, the \$1,000,000 income class saved 75 per cent, paid 17.2 per cent in taxes, and consumed 6.3 per cent.

Our question may be reduced, then, to this: Is it wiser to impose taxes which will fall upon the buyer of consumption goods, the man who tends to spend almost all of his income in any case, or is it better to reduce the amount of income available for savings, for investment in new factories and productive facilities? Is it not obvious that in a speculative profit system savings will be put to use in constructing more factories and when the ability to consume a somewhat greater portion of the output of present facilities makes it profitable to do so? Do investors refrain from making commitments at the present time because funds are scarce or because borrowers are lacking who can use money at a profit? By reducing consumption can we do anything but postpone the time when it will be prof-

itable to increase productive capacity? To business men who advocate the return to normalcy through a revival of investment, is not the sales tax a glaring contradiction of their own program?

Any one who has followed the tactics of Mr. Roosevelt in the recent campaign must be curious to learn the true nature of his opinions: whether they are represented by the radical implications of his acceptance speech or the attenuated liberalism of his Western addresses; whether his convictions have taken shape or are still amorphous.

That Roosevelt is under conservative guidance may be admitted. But is it sound? Do the conservative "liberals" like Baruch, Woodin, Smith, Raskob, Baker, and Farley understand the depression any better than Mr. Hoover's Mills, et al? It is now abundantly clear that Mr. Hoover made three great mistakes: in underestimating the profundity of the depression, in refusing to admit the importance of domestic maladjustments as contributing causes, and in overestimating the efficacy of recovery through the process of individual capital investment and private speculation. Are the group that surround the President-elect able to provide an analysis of the depression and the way out based on a sounder and more realistic reading of economics than those of their predecessors?

If the incoming administration falls victim to the purblind economics of the sales tax, the Socialist Party will have presented to it an opportunity to arouse workers, farmers, and white collar liberals to a realization of the incompatibility of their own interests and those of the speculative class.

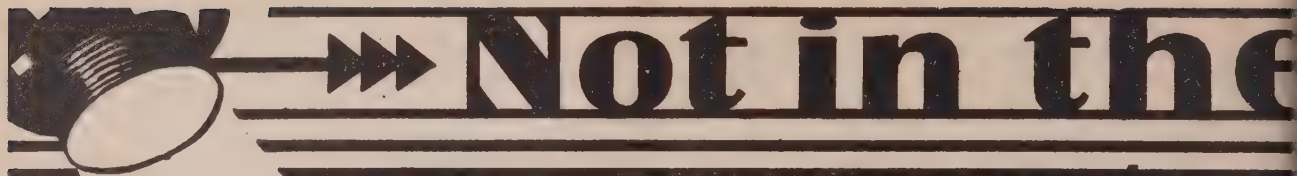
# EXPENDITURE BUDGETS OF AMERICAN CONSUMERS, BY INCOME GROUPS—1929

(In Thousands of Dollars)

	1 & under	1 under 2	2 under 3	3 under 5	5 under 10	10 under 25	25 under 50	50 under 100	300 under 500	1,000 & over
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Food .....	33.5	32.2	20.7	14.8	10.4	7.6	4.1	2.2	.6	.2
Housing .....	18.5	15.8	14.3	17.4	24.4	21.7	19.6	25.5	5.4	1.8
Transportation .....	14.4	15.8	16.0	10.8	8.8	8.1	7.1	4.4	1.2	.2
Savings .....	2.7	4.8	10.6	16.2	14.0	21.9	30.1	31.4	67.2	76.5
Personal .....	9.0	8.8	12.8	13.6	15.8	12.0	8.2	6.2	1.0	.2
Clothing .....	11.6	10.8	10.1	8.3	6.4	3.5	1.8	1.1	.3	.1
Recreation .....	2.3	3.2	5.3	7.5	9.5	10.4	12.2	8.6	3.2	.6
Health .....	2.2	2.5	3.0	5.0	3.2	5.0	3.1	2.5	.7	.1
Social Activities .....	1.5	2.1	2.2	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.5	2.8	2.7
Taxes .....	.8	.9	1.7	1.8	2.5	3.5	7.8	12.6	16.3	17.2
Education .....	1.1	1.7	2.5	2.9	3.2	4.5	3.7	3.0	1.2	.4
Civil .....	2.4	1.4	.8	.2	.2	.1	.1	*	.1	*
TOTALS .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Less than .1%.





# Not in the

## Clergymen and Politicians As Arms Makers

Vickers-Armstrong, the largest British armament concern, according to the British *New Leader*, has many clergymen among its stockholders. Among the celebrities holding stock shares on April 18, 1932, as listed in the annual reports, were the Bishop of Hereford, with 1,010 shares; Lord Hailsham, Tory Secretary of State for War, with 210 shares; Wardlaw Milne, M.P., with 3,000 shares; Sir Robert Horne, M.P., with 5,000 shares. Be it noted that Sir John Simon, head of the British delegation to the arms conference at Geneva, owned on April 28, 1932, 1,512 shares in Imperial Chemical Industries, England's largest chemical combine.

## Spanish Socialists Emulate Denmark

At the recent congress of the Spanish Socialist Party, a resolution to demand the disbandment of the Civil Guard, which has been condemned for repressive activities, was passed by a vote of 26,048 to 2,227. The Congress also came out overwhelmingly for a policy akin to the policy of disarmament now being advocated by the Socialist ministry of Denmark.

## The "Meanness" Test

In the House of Commons, on October 27, it was revealed by a discussion between Mr. George Hicks, Labor, and Sir Henry Betterton, Minister of Labor, that in administration of the "means test" in London County Council areas, amounts had been deducted from unemployment benefits to offset the free lunches given in the school system to children.

## Tariff Imbecility

North Dakota farmers are letting their potatoes rot in the ground because the prices are too low to pay for digging. A short distance to the north in Manitoba farmers lost their crops and have not even enough to eat. North Dakota sent word that their Canadian friends might come and have all the potatoes they wanted just for the digging. But Canada has a tariff of 46 cents a bushel on potatoes. When asked to suspend the tariff in this case, the Minister of National Revenue refused, because this "is not a proper remedy" and to do so would be "unsound in principle."

## Soviet Synthetic Rubber

On October 19, the first ton of synthetic rubber was produced in the new mill SK-2 in Voronesh. This is the second Soviet mill for synthetic rubber. The rubber obtained has tested out as of very high quality. The rubber is produced by the method devised by the Soviet academician S. Lebedev, from ethyl alcohol. Mill SK-2 is the first of a group growing up in Voronesh which is scheduled to be ready for operation in two or three years.

## Los Angeles's "Red Squad"

Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174, in a vigorous resolution denouncing the unconstitutional activities of the so-called Red Squad, has demanded that Mayor J. C. Porter appoint a committee to investigate these activities. "We are for free speech," members of the union declared, "regardless of who is doing the speaking, and we feel that an investigation is warranted by the actions of the Red Squad in numerous cases." The Central Labor Union and the Methodist Ministers' Association have passed similar resolutions.

## Students Better Wait?

A belief that undergraduates lack proper background to gather facts and present opinions contrary to the administrative policies of their colleges was expressed by Professor Douglass W. Miller, head of the journalism department of Ohio Wesleyan University, at the recent convention of the National Scholastic Press Association at Cincinnati, Ohio. The right of student newspapers to criticize college administrations was the issue before the group on the day on which Professor Miller spoke.

## Scots Missionaries Decried Indian Repression

"An appeal for magnanimous action" in India has been made to members of the British Parliament representing Scotch constituencies by a group of Scottish missionaries who are serving or who have served in India, according to the London *Times*. "The signatories write," says this paper, which is quoted in a release issued by the American League for India's Freedom, "that while cordially appreciating the efforts which the National Government are making to expedite the attainment by India of real self-government, they are persuaded that these efforts are doomed to disappointment unless the Administration abandon or greatly mitigate their present policy of government by Ordinances."

## San Francisco Halts Construction

All new municipal construction work in San Francisco will be held up until after the first of the year because the Board of Supervisors failed to fix a wage scale for city work in 1932. No scale has been since July 6, 1931, though the ordinance provides for revision every six months. This means that \$3,000,000 worth of work, to employ thousands of men, must be delayed until January 1, 1933.

## Quaker Relief Work

A report issued by the American Friends Service Committee covering their work in Child Relief in the bituminous coal fields between September 1, 1931, and August 31, 1932, shows that this enterprise for the supply of food, clothing, recreation and general rehabilitation, furnished rations to 641,408 children of pre-school age, to 106,710 nursing and expectant mothers, and supplied no fewer than 2,168,680 meals as a total. Gifts received and distributed amounted to \$319,377 in cash and \$75,227.19 in kind.

## British Arms Shipments to Orient

In August of 1932, says the British *New Leader*, British ammunition manufactures exported 1,500,000 pistol cartridges to China, 1,200,000 machine gun cartridges to Japan. In September they shipped machine guns to Japan. Britain now leads the world as the chief exporter of arms and ammunition. In 1930 her exports were 30.8 per cent of the total world exports. France came second with 12.9 per cent and the United States third with 11.7 per cent.

## New Light on Government "Waste"

Taking issue with those who "insinuate that governmental expenditures are largely responsible for the depression," Professor A. R. Hatton, head of the political science department of Northwestern University and vice president of the National Municipal League, presented the recommendations of the League's committee on constructive economy in state and local government in a recent radio hook-up. Hatton characterized the "doctrine of tax payments are sheer waste" as "strongly tinged with anarchism." He supplied detailed evidence to show that governments, unlike certain individuals, cannot cut down too drastically on their expenditures without danger of social chaos, permanent and costly set-backs to conservation and socially-necessary institutions.



# Headlines

## People's Lobby Opposes A. F. of L.

Asserting that the unemployment insurance plan proposed by the American Federation of Labor "is a decade too late and based upon false premises," the People's Party, of which Professor John Dewey is president, has issued a public statement declaring that "unemployment in the United States, as in every industrialized and mechanized nation, has passed the stage at which it can be dealt with on an industrial basis, and must be recognized as governmental responsibility." "The situation," the statement goes on, "ignores the fact that about half of the corporations in the nation are in the red, and that one per cent of the corporations have about half of the 50 billion dollars of surplus and undivided profits, while many of them have a deficit instead of a surplus."

## Segregation in Schools

Colored parents and guardians in Chesapeake County, Pennsylvania, have obtained a court order requiring the school directors of Tremont and Easttown townships to show why they should not admit Negro children to their schools. Separate schools for colored children only were opened elsewhere.

## Catholics and the Rural Problem

Realizing that modern cities do not maintain even a stationary population to anything about increases, the Catholic Church is taking an increasingly great interest in the farm. Catholics are now concentrated in the great cities where the birth rate is low. Little increase may be expected from immigration which is practically cut off. Hence the importance of the Catholic Rural Life Conference and attempt to build rural parishes.

## Battleships Before Brains

With this slogan the British Labor Party is pointing out that figures given by the Admiralty show the annual cost of upkeep of the five large capital ships now forming part of the British navy, to be, respectively, for the *Nelson*, £358,390; for the *Rodney*, £314,120; for the *Hood*, £3,830; for the *Renown*, £283,380; for the *Repulse*, £283,380. The Labor Party has been protesting that the sum required for upkeep of the *Nelson* alone is just a little short of the £400,000 that the government proposes to "save" by abolishing secondary education, increasing secondary school fees, and introducing a means test for parents of children who win what are now free places in secondary schools.

## Chicago's New Labor College

A labor college has been organized by Socialists in Chicago. Classes opened at 3252 North Avenue on the 15th of November. Members of the faculty include Professor Maynard Krueger, Owen Geer, Clarence Senior, Mordecai Shulman, R. B. Green, Harold Kelso, Llewellyn Jones and Meyer Halushka. Classes will be given in Marxian economics, public speaking, history of the international Socialist movement, contemporary labor problems, and rebel classics.

## Hong Kong War Resisters

The Peace Group of Hong Kong has affiliated with the War Resisters International, having adopted the following declaration: "War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war." The group begins, under difficult circumstances, with about 20 members.

## Marietta Johnson's 25 Years

The School of Organic Education, at Fairhope, Alabama, long the famous handiwork of Mrs. Marietta Johnson, pioneer in progressive education, has just celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The Fairhope Winter School will include in its six-weeks course, from February 6 to March 18, education and general methods, arts and crafts, woodworking, folk dancing, nature study and observation in the elementary school.

## They That Are Heavy Laden

Almost four million women in the United States, according to the Federal Women's Bureau, or about 37 per cent of the total number employed, are enacting the double role of home-maker and wage-earner, while conversely about 14 per cent of the country's home-makers are also breadwinners.

## How Heroes are Made

Hans Mend wrote a book about Hitler's military career, *Adolf Hitler im Felde*, in which Hitler appeared as an heroic soldier. Mend had been Hitler's superior officer in the War and he painted the military exploits of his hero in lurid colors. Then a rift developed between Mend and Hitler, and Mend retracted all that he had written about the great Osaf. The incident is significant for revealing not only the origin of the Hitler legend, but also the complete lack of discipline in the Nazi ranks.

## Building Wage Cuts False Lure

The value of proposed new building in Massachusetts in October was down 67.3 per cent from October, 1931. Boston carpenters took a heavy wage cut last spring on the promise that it would increase work.

## Japanese Trade Balance Up

Japan's trade balance for October, notwithstanding protests by financiers over the tremendous military outlay of recent and prospective months, increased 49,000,000 yen in her favor, a rise of 29,000,000 yen over the same month last year.

## No-Tax Movement in Bengal

In reply to a question in the Bengal Legislative Council, according to the *Bombay Chronicle*, Sir P. C. Mittler stated that in North and East Bengal 899 estates had actually been sold for arrears of land revenue; in 1931-32 some 8,796 estates were advertised for sale, of which 564 were actually sold; in June, 1932, 3,984 were advertised for sale of which 300 had been sold. A large number of the estates could not be sold, he said, for want of buyers. This reflects the extent of the campaign of the Indian nationalists against payment of taxes and equally against purchase of estates which have been confiscated for non-payment.

## Church Printing Shops Unionized

Members of the printing trades who attended the A. F. of L. convention in Cincinnati were able to visit a union shop which represents a victory in a struggle that lasted almost 30 years. The Methodist Book Concern, largest religious publishing house, is now a union shop. From 1903, when the Book Concern severed relations with the Typographical Union, until 1917, the plant was operated with no employee representation. In 1916 the Methodist General Conference directed that the employees be given representation in line with resolutions being passed on industrial relations. The publishing agent in charge of the plant in 1917 worked out a company union, handed down good working conditions, union wages, and short work-week—but kept the unions out. All these years the progressives in the church have kept up a fight for organization, and finally on Sept. 1, 1932, the contracts between the various unions and the Book Concern went into effect. Contracts have been signed with the unions at Chicago, and unionization is to begin on January first.



# Connecticut: A Case in Point

DEVERE ALLEN

ON the basis of available returns, the highest percentage of all Socialist ballots cast in any state appears to have been polled in Oregon or Wisconsin, with Connecticut a close third. In Oregon and Wisconsin alike, the Socialist vote will probably be just a little less than four per cent, while in Connecticut it was approximately three and one-half per cent. But the rise in Connecticut from 1928 to 1932 was phenomenal, exceeding considerably the rise in either of the other two states. In Wisconsin, the figure for 1928, 18,213, went up to 44,012, an increase of 2.41 times. In Oregon, the vote mounted from 2,720 to 14,528, an increase of 5.34 times. In Connecticut, however, the vote in 1928 was only 3,019, while in 1932 it reached 20,439, an increase of 6.77 times. If final returns from Washington and Ohio, where the gains were enormous, give Connecticut a lower ranking, this article would still be warranted.

The Connecticut swing is noteworthy because the Nutmeg State has never been good soil for radicalism; no more boss-ridden, conservative state exists; it has become the stamping ground for sweatshop exploiters; the labor movement is quiescent; coöperation has made slight progress among the farmers. If so great a gain can be shown in a state like Connecticut in 1932, may there not be clues to a wider Socialist policy in the outcome?

To grasp the significance of the three and one-half per cent vote for the Socialist ticket in Connecticut this year, comparisons are necessary. Far back in 1900, Eugene V. Debs polled in the state about one-half of one per cent. In 1904 his vote rose to two and one-third per cent; in 1908 to two and two-thirds per cent; and in 1912, it reached its peak with five and one-third per cent. Benson's vote in 1916 went down to two and one-third per cent, and even in 1920, when Debs received nationally the highest vote (in terms of the total) ever given a Socialist candidate, the Connecticut percentage was only two and four-fifths. There is consolation for present-day Connecticut Socialists, however, when the 1912 figures are examined carefully; since for some unaccountable reason, the total vote of the state dropped markedly in that exciting year, falling even under the total vote of 1904. Thousands of straight-laced Republicans, possibly, who could not stomach the Taft steam-roller tactics, nevertheless would not support such "dangerous" candidates as Wilson, "T. R." or Debs. Thus the regularly increasing straight Socialist vote gave Debs an abnormally high percentage in 1912, though indeed it

was the true high water mark of socialism in America, the country as a whole considered.

In 1924, when the Socialists merged with the La Follette forces, Connecticut piled up some 40,000 votes for the Wisconsin Senator and his courageous *laissez-faire-liberal* program, the figure amounting to 10.5 per cent. The essential flimsiness of the La Follette movement and the reasons for its prompt disintegration, however, are discernible in an analysis of the Connecticut returns, for the Democratic vote fell by almost 11,000 below the same party's vote in 1920 which was itself an extraordinarily bad Democratic year. La Follette drew some Republican votes, but he pulled more away from the colorless Davis, who was deserted by numerous disgruntled Democrats after the historic scrap in Madison Square Garden. There are no signs of any growing adherence to the basic economic program of change at that period.

A FURTHER comparison is required. When the Debs Connecticut percentage in 1920 was two and four-fifths, the national percentage was 3.44. In 1912, the Connecticut percentage was five and one-third, but the national percentage was almost six. Thus in both of these years the Connecticut vote fell noticeably behind the presidential vote of the country as a whole. But the opposite was true in 1932: this year, while the national vote was apparently under two per cent, Connecticut's, as already stated, was about three and one-half per cent.

Norman Thomas's early post-election statement that the Socialists lost the protest vote is clearly borne out by Connecticut. In Hartford, Thomas (with Jasper McLevy running for Governor and the writer for United States Senator) drew an enormous gathering of 3,400 people with hundreds turned away—the biggest meeting ever held, it was said by the press, in the city. The crowd was enthusiastic. But in Hartford, East Hartford, and West Hartford combined the Thomas vote was only 2,184. In New Haven a crowd of nearly 6,400 cheered the same speaker heartily; but the whole city cast only 2,986 Socialist ballots. In Bridgeport, where 2,300 people jammed the largest high school auditorium with an overflow crowd outside, the result appears better, with 4,231 Thomas votes. Yet this figure was 1,427 lower than the Bridgeport vote for McLevy, the Lincoln-like Socialist who was running in his home town. But even that must be weighed against the 1931 mayoralty election when McLevy secured 15,084 votes as against 17,880



the victorious Democrat and only some 9,000 for the Republican candidate. Though all experienced observers know that in a presidential year local radicalism suffers a set-back, so great a drop shows plainly that the 1931 Socialist vote was also largely a protest vote and did not represent complete Socialist convictions. As it is, none the less, in 1932 this profoundly expected Socialist got over 13 per cent of the total Bridgeport vote and has a strong organization intact for future operations. If we had won the protest vote, as many conservative prophets were predicting, the state-wide total would have approached 40,000. As it was, the 20,000 received was 5,000 in excess of the writer's consistent expectations.

But why did we lose that protest vote? The reasons, if we can find them, are important for later policy as well as for post-mortems. Personally I think we may well let the protest vote go unmourned; though educationally speaking, it cannot be ignored. My own belief is that the chief reason was this: socialism was looked upon tolerantly, interestedly, even sympathetically, by far more people than ever before; but it seemed rather a remote means of urgent change. The fear of Roosevelt in the Connecticut countryside was matched, absurdly enough, by the fear of Hoover in the cities; the preference for Cross over the reactionary Trumbull affected the McLevy vote; and the prejudice against Bingham often reacted to the benefit of the one real hope of defeating him, the Democratic senatorial candidate.

It must also be remembered that this year we ran as a radical party, the sneers of Communists notwithstanding. The writer stressed two planks, namely, those dealing with war and the profit system, the latter case pressing for the ultimate Socialist program as well as the more immediate issues, and openly declaring his opposition to the World War and to any future war. The presidential candidate's stand for a capital levy was widely discussed in the state, and though I welcomed it at the time, I am compelled to admit that it was introduced too late for it to be understood or clarified, lending itself to deliberate or ignorant misrepresentation.

The protest vote question was affected by the fact that this year we ran up against a rival party of protest in the Independent Republicans whose leader, Albert Levitt, the Redding ex-professor, has built up a reputation as an anti-Roraback crusader, a Dry, and a champion of the farmer; and whose senatorial candidate, Professor Milton Conover of Yale, was a teacher of government with experience in Washington bureaus. Their campaign cost far more than ours, while Levitt for Governor polled only some 4,500 votes, while Conover got 9,800—some of which, I am persuaded, we made for him by taking them away from

Republicans who, however, would not vote for the Socialist program on Prohibition. Again, this illustrates the costly hang-over of Prohibition as a protest issue.

**W**HY did the Socialist strength multiply itself almost seven times, in the face of this disappearing protest vote? To those who know the state party, the reason is obvious: we had a corps of loyal backers gradually built up within the working class, some of whom scratched Norman Thomas, some of whom scratched the writer, but who stuck enthusiastically by Jasper McLevy, long known as an experienced working class leader and former union official, who led the ticket. So far as Socialist building is concerned, it should be observed that the McLevy vote had a tendency to drop slightly back of that for Thomas except in those industrial regions, especially around Bridgeport, where organization has proceeded with the greatest intensity. This organization has been done, in the main, among the workers. Men in the ministry at various places in the state have come out courageously for socialism; but they know better than anybody else how few of their congregations share these views. Peace groups—which have made incredibly slow organizing progress in this state—and such societies as the League of Women Voters, showed tremendous interest in socialism; but they were usually frank in explaining their reluctant decision to support the Democratic candidates for Senator and Governor to defeat Bingham and Trumbull, or to back Hoover for his policy on war debts, Latin America, and Japan. Indications too numerous to mention here all point in the direction of a large workers' vote, not the least of them being the fact that more than 18,000 of the 20,000 were straight ballots. The "orthodox" labor-type Socialists ran only a little behind the presidential, gubernatorial and senatorial candidates. Student Socialist Clubs and Thomas-for-President Clubs at Yale, Wesleyan and other institutions of learning did valiant work; but the increase among professional people was negligible in the total. In all of Middletown, for instance, only 147 votes were cast for Thomas, as against 315 in Bristol, a purely industrial town of the same size. Litchfield County, non-industrial, turned in 560 votes; Fairfield, chiefly industrial, 7,017.

In many sections of the country, the fall of this year's nation-wide Socialist vote below expectations will certainly stimulate activity toward a new party, or rather talk about it. Activity, in my opinion, will be harder than before, simply because of the Roosevelt victory, which will placate organized labor and some of the farming elements, at least for a time. The word "Socialist" in Connecticut was not a drawback in the campaign; one could cite an imposing array of con-



servative strongholds into which Socialists were welcomed or invited, such as the club of the General Electric employees in Bridgeport, because we seemed at least to have something constructive, if a bit breath-taking, to propose. From a great deal of post-election comment by liberals, it seems certain that they are no more interested in dropping the Socialist "label" than they are in dropping the socialistic principles to which many of them have given service, and not all lip service, in the past. There seems less room than ever for a new party standing between the new grouping of Roosevelt, the La Follettes, Norrises, Costigans, *et al*, and the Socialist Party of America.

THERE are, however, certain directions in which the Socialist Party must move, if it is to thrive; certain lessons it must learn, certain practical steps that must at once be taken.

1. *Propaganda is not enough.* Speechmaking is essential; it is encouraging to any candidate to note, as in Connecticut, that the returns curved upward where speaking opportunities were available. But addresses, literature, and the other devices of campaigning are at best too impromptu. We must look to more perpetual influences over the electorate.

2. *We must organize around local issues on local lines.* We can never win full confidence until we run complete local tickets; until we are recognized as offering realistic and informed programs for community as well as national and international conditions. The Connecticut State Secretary, Arnold E. Freese, has been working out activity along this line and will institute it if all goes well. Many successful locals of the Party could serve as educators of the entire movement in this respect.

3. *We must build up cultural Socialist functions.* In New Haven ambitious programs of education and organization are being mapped out, calling eventually for a Socialist clubroom in every ward and the establishment of a labor college. Every legitimate form of socialized recreational facility must be put into operation, especially among the young, and the use of music and art and drama developed so as to encourage color, vivid activity and a rich life of comradeship for the creation of enduring solidarity.

4. *Every project that can be relied on to produce revenue or self-support must be introduced, or devised where ingenuity will allow it.* Many church organizations could teach Socialists a lot in this regard; there is much for American Socialists in the experience of their European comrades in Birmingham, Sheffield, Brussels, Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna; from Reading and its revenue-producing Socialist coöperatives there is much that can be adapted.

5. *We cannot continue to neglect the farmer as, at least in the industrial East, we have before.* Where

we cannot work through such natural links as coöperatives, this campaign has presented many of us with alternative approaches, namely, in the small-town workers who voted Socialist. There is infinite possibility for the future in such figures as these: 28 Connecticut towns in 1928 cast no votes for Thomas; 1 towns in 1930 cast no votes for the state ticket; but in 1932 the number of towns casting no votes for Thomas was only four. The increase of 1932 over 1928 in numerous towns was startling: Bethel, from 1 to 34; Darien, seven to 50; Easton, five to 48; Newtown, one to 22; Ridgefield, two to 32; Trumbull, four to 130; Westport, four to 61; Wilton, four to 84; Windsor, 12 to 79; Enfield, four to 60; Southington, six to 44; Kent, none to 25; New Milford, eight to 39; Salisbury, five to 29; Winchester, three to 22; Woodbury, one to 19; Wethersfield, 11 to 88; Waterbury, four to 55; Cromwell, one to 22; Branford, six to 125; and similarly all over the state. This, by the way, in a state whose political correspondents for the New York papers and magazines kept insisting that the Socialist influence was confined to the urban centers!

6. *Our central field is the working class.* It is not necessary to become romantic about the workers in order to see the force of this view. Intellectual leaders have often given the drive, and usually the programs, to every important Socialist or Communist Labor advance. Nor can we overlook the present situation in our American labor world. In all probability we shall have to await some general awakening, which however we can contribute if we will, of the trade union movement from its short-sightedness before much can be expected in that quarter. There is, however, a huge area of activity in the vast number of white-collar and unorganized workers. In any case no chances for demonstrations, strike assistance, labor organization can be neglected. Those within the Party who have been standpatters in this approach to labor are of infinitely greater menace, at least for the present, than the middle-class intellectuals who have recently joined the ranks. A habit of indifference to labor may be overcome; an intellectual conviction in the same direction is a fatal obstacle.

7. *The time for campaign activity is primarily between campaigns.* Until we develop greater strength in numbers, we must expect to be swept under in presidential years. The elections in between those years should be worked to the utmost. It is high time that we begin at once the crusade for municipal offices in 1933 and the congressional race of 1934. There is no reason except precedent why we cannot hold our nominating conventions several months ahead, a year ahead, or even more, so as to cultivate every inch of available ground with our prospective candidates and principles.





# The Book End

*With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

## What's Wrong with New York?

*What's the Matter With New York?* By Norman Thomas and Paul Blanshard. Macmillan Co. \$2.00.

NEW YORK's Mayoralty election of 1932 was only a skirmish. It was precipitated by the sudden resignation of J. Walker under fire, and it found the city totally unprepared. The municipal election, besides, was limited to the election of mayor, and that only for the unexpired term of one year. The real battle for the government of New York will be fought next year, when the entire city administration, including all members of the two houses of the municipal legislature, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and the Board of Aldermen, will be elected for a full term. If all indications do not deceive, it will be a spirited and hard-fought battle. While the Democratic Party was still able to roll up a heavy majority for Surrogate Charles F. Murphy, the Mayor-elect of New York, the vote showed ominous signs of a relaxation of Tammany's grip on the city. Mr. Murphy ran hundreds of thousands of votes behind the Democratic ticket for president and governor, a spontaneous and sizably protest vote was cast for acting Mayor McKee, and the Socialist candidate made substantial gains.

The municipal campaign of 1933 has already begun. The Tammany strategists are busily at work devising methods for consolidating the power and regaining the "prestige" of the Hall. The heterogeneous group of "municipal reformers" are beginning to organize the forces of the prospective fusion campaign. It is a sad and depressing spectacle that these professional "reformers" offer to the eyes of true advocates of municipal progress. Their whole aim is expressed in the negative slogan "Down with Tammany." They offer no constructive municipal program and no understanding of the vital and neglected social functions of the city.

Their appalling lack of political intelligence is best shown in their admiration for Acting Mayor Joseph V. McKee and their false hope that he may lead the fusion forces in the coming election. Mr. McKee is a politician of decidedly small caliber, a mere pawn on the political checkerboard played between the bureaucratic bosses of Manhattan and the Bronx, Mr. Curry and Mr. Flynn. For well-nigh seven years he sat on the Board of Estimate and Apportionment as President of the Board of Aldermen and never raised his voice in protest against Tammany mismanagement. He actively participated in the infamous salary grabs of 1925 and 1930. He turned "reformer" when Tammany refused his nomination for Mayor, and what a reformer! Time and again he showed his readiness to sacrifice all vital functions of the government, education, housing and unemployment relief, to petty corner-grocer concepts of economy.

Another interesting side-light on the temper and nature of the proposed fusion movement is to be found in the fact that its main

foundation is to be the Republican political machine of New York, just as unscrupulous and corrupt as Tammany, only a little more hypocritical and much meaner. Under these circumstances the Socialists in the coming election will again be the sole exponents of true municipal progress and the sole champions of the rights and interests of the working classes of New York.

In this fight they will find a valuable supply of effective ammunition in the recent book on the city government of New York by Norman Thomas and Paul Blanshard. *What's the Matter With New York?* contains a keen analysis of administrative corruption under the Tammany regime, as revealed by the Seabury investigation, but probes much deeper into the causes of the corruption than the present or any previous legislative investigation has attempted to do.

One of the chief merits of the work, in my opinion, is the establishment of the link between political and industrial free-booting, between graft and profiteering, political crime and racketeering. The reform of the city of New York means infinitely more than displacing a "bad man" with a "good man." It involves a radical change in the whole social and economic basis of city administration.

The timely book of Messrs. Thomas and Blanshard offers in addition a concrete and detailed program of municipal reconstruction from a Socialist point of view. It is written in simple and readable English and is replete with interesting episodes and graphic illustrations of points made. It should be read by all persons who desire to acquire an intelligent understanding of the vital problems of the government of our enormous city, the home of seven million human beings.

MORRIS HILLQUIT

## Europe Without a Mask

*Not to be Repeated, The Merry-Go-Round of Europe.* Anonymous. Long and Smith. \$3.00.

SOME years ago the New York *World* sent a police reporter to Europe to report an important international conference. The man knew nothing of the endless complications of European history, but he reported what he saw as though he were dealing with police politics, ward-heelers, and gangsters in the old home town. These reports were an immense sensation. They crowded the conventional and official versions of the conference off the front page, and irritated Lloyd George very much indeed.

There is some justification and value in this type of reporting. The great capitalist and imperialist governments are in many ways larger editions of ward-heelers and gangsters; they are simply more powerful and more respectable. Hence anyone who knows his Europe and who is a bit fed up with reading the inspired news about treaties and international conferences will find *Not to be Repeated* a welcome relief. The publishers asked six European



reporters to cover Europe for them, and in order that they might not be over-cautious, the result of their coöperative labors was published anonymously.

The chapters on Germany are by all odds the best and most informative. The Nazis are dissected mercilessly and their dirty linen is washed in public. There is also much interesting material on Hindenburg, the royalists, the Socialists, and German business. The section on England is the most conventional in the volume. It is actually dull at times. France, on the other hand, is well reported—its leading personalities and its press in particular. The section on Italy reads like a book about gangsters; in fact, former gangsters from Chicago figure as Mussolini's right hand men. The Russian chapter is very unsatisfactory, as is the final chapter on Geneva. However, Central Europe and the Balkans appear as comic opera countries or as pages from the Graustark novels. Yet there is much solid information woven into this comedy which shows wide acquaintance with the affairs of those states. In this section, more than in any other, much sensational scandal is revealed.

Politicians everywhere do not like to be handled without gloves and they would probably revenge themselves on the writers of this volume if they could discover their identities. As for the rest of us, we ought to be grateful to them for a very informing and amusing volume.

H. C. E.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Dr. Holmes Protests

I CANNOT refrain from expressing my disgust with Harold U. Faulkner's review in your recent issue of Mr. Flynn's new biography of John D. Rockefeller. I wonder if you did not feel something of this disgust in heading the review with the title, "Through Mammon to God." Surely this title must be satirical, for you do not believe that Rockefeller has really been received among the company of the elect, and in "the world tomorrow" is to be enrolled among the saints. This canonization process, engineered by able propaganda, has carried far and thus has fooled multitudes of people, but surely it is not fooling us.

Mr. Faulkner sums up his thesis in a remarkable sentence (the italics are my own):

"He (Rockefeller) had no idea that he represented a new and saner day. *He simply saw that conditions in the industry in which he was interested were intolerable and he devoted his talents to the elimination of competition and inefficiency, incidentally building a great monopoly and making it possible for himself and his own group to make profits.*"

Was there ever a more perfect case of the cart before the horse? What are the facts? That John D. Rockefeller, moved by a lust for gold unprecedented in modern history, saw with his shrewd and greedy eyes that millions could be made in oil! He entered this field, outdid all his rivals in fraud, violence, and cunning, ruined everybody except his fellow-brigands, established a monopoly as Genghis Khan established an empire, made profits unparalleled since ancient Rome and its looting conquerors—and "incidentally" eliminated competition and inefficiency, and established order out of chaos. If the world, and even history, want to revise this story of social crime and to reverse all values, let it do so. But THE WORLD TOMORROW can take no part in such business.

Speaking of history, Mr. Faulkner's sentence, above quoted,

suggests how our present international anarchy might be ended and how historians of the Faulkner type would describe the end. Let some ruthless imperial nation plunge into the international field today, as Rockefeller plunged into the oil field yesterday, set things to rights. Perhaps Japan, after it has finished up Asia, can be persuaded to do this much-needed and beneficent thing for the rest of the earth. Then would Japan be praised as follows: "Japan had no idea that it represented a new and a saner day. It simply saw that conditions were intolerable in the Far East and devoted its power to the elimination of national competition and inefficiency, incidentally building a great empire and making it possible for the nation and its bond-holders to make profits." *New York, N. Y.*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

### Christmas in the Kanawha Valley

THERE will be no Christmas festivities in the lonely mining camps of the Kanawha Valley this year except through the Christmas parties planned by Pioneer Youth and the League of Industrial Democracy which for two successive summers have tried on workers' education among the miners as an auxiliary to the union organization which they have built.

Toys, dolls, books for 3,400 forgotten children from a Santa Claus that the union brings to the mining camps are real factors in keeping the organization alive as well as the source of holiday joy in every family. We urge your readers to collect and send as many toys, as many gifts as possible for the children, as many

### This Week's Anniversary

#### WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

BORN DECEMBER 10, 1805

But why so vehement? so unyielding? so severe? Because the times and the cause demand vehemence. An immense iceberg, larger and more impenetrable than any which floats in the Arctic Ocean, is to be dissolved, and a little extra heat is not only pardonable, but absolutely necessary. . . . How, then, ought I to feel, and speak and write, in view of a system which is red with innocent blood, drawn from the bodies of millions of my countrymen by the scourge of brutal drivers? How ought I to feel and speak? As a man! as a patriot! as a philanthropist! as a Christian! My soul should be, as it is, on fire. I should thunder—I should lighten. I should blow the trumpet of alarm, long and loud. I should use just such language as is most descriptive of the crime. I should imitate the example of Christ, who, when he had to do with people of like manners, called them sharply by their proper names—such as, an adulterous and perverse generation, a brood of vipers, hypocrites, children of the devil who could not escape the damnation of hell. . . . I will not waste my strength in foolishly endeavoring to beat down this great Bastille with a feather.—From *Makers of Freedom*.



clothing as they can and ship it direct (prepaid, please)  
 Christmas Party Committee, c/o the West Virginia  
 Worker's Union, Room 9, Old Kanawha Valley Bank  
 Building, Charleston, W. Va. Cash contributions for the pur-  
 chase of oranges, candy and other party expenses may be sent to  
 Pioneer Youth, 69 Bank St., New York or to the League for  
 Social Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York.  
 Parties take place December 21st to 23rd. All shipments  
 must be made before December 16th. From behind the lines,  
 come cheer to valiant workers!

New York, N. Y.

MARY FOX, *Executive Secretary of the L. I. D.*

WALTER LUDWIG, *Executive Director of Pioneer Youth*

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### Who's Who in This Issue

Henry P. Van Dusen is dean of Union Theological Sem-  
 inary.

Joseph Ernest McAfee, who was for twelve years director  
 of the community service at Community Church, New  
 York, is the author of "Religion and the New American  
 Democracy."

El Staebler is a prominent leader of the progressive  
 forces in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Morris Hillquit is chairman of the National Executive  
 Committee of the Socialist Party and was a candidate  
 for Mayor of New York in the recent election.

### World Tomorrow Radio Hour

*Tuesday, December 6—8:15 P. M.*

Speaker: Devere Allen.

Subject: "Disarmament Without Sanctions."

Tune in every Tuesday evening at 8:15

Station WEVD (1300 K; 231 M)



## THE LAST WORD

IT was a convention of a great religious organization working  
 to create a better world. The chairman called certain distin-  
 guished guests by name, asking them to rise for a greeting.  
 Amid applause, a dozen or so stood up. They came from many  
 countries. But a time arrived when the chairman, wishing to get  
 on, nevertheless grew frightened at the international complications  
 should he, perchance, overlook a famous visitor. Whereupon he  
 coughed nervously, then said: "Are there any other distinguished  
 guests? If there are, will they not please rise and announce them-  
 selves?" Well, although he has the story upon unimpeachable  
 authority, Eccentricus wasn't there, so he lost the chance of a  
 lifetime.

Chairmen to Eccentricus are abominations. Not once but a  
 hundred times, he has wished he could be his own presiding officer.  
 It was Art Young, if his memory serves, who once declared that  
 it is sometimes easier to live down your traducers than live up to  
 your introducers. But not always, at that. Samuel Guy Inman  
 tells of an occasion when he spoke at Yale, years ago, at the  
 time of the Carranza regime in Mexico. His chairman, a pro-  
 fessor, introduced him as follows: "The speaker this evening has  
 lived many years in Latin America, especially in Mexico, where  
 he is intimately acquainted with President Carranza and several  
 other Mexican bandits."

By the way, Eccentricus will be glad to receive what might be  
 described as "chairman stories." Who knows? We might thereby,  
 through our coöperative endeavors, start a revolution in procedure  
 of meetings which would, if anything could do so, bring lasting  
 benefit to mankind. Why do we have to run our discussions on  
 the basis of a Cook's tour? Send in your yarns, and I'll print  
 them if I can.

WHY I turn from chairmen to poison gas, I know not, save  
 by accident. But I see that *The Chemist*, official periodical  
 of the American Institute of Chemists, contains a prediction by  
 Dr. J. Mitchell Fain that in another war affecting the defenses  
 of this country, civilian populations will be safe from toxic gases,  
 because the skyscrapers provide a refuge. Skyscrapers are too  
 high to be flooded with gas, and they have splendid ventilating  
 systems. That airplanes drop not only gas but bombs seems to  
 have evaded this scientist's attention. But if he is right, what  
 do you suppose is the moral? That, rationally speaking, so long  
 as we are safe, we should drop poison gas warfare, offense and  
 defense? You know the answer.

WONDER what became of the people, this year, who on  
 last Thanksgiving Day celebrated, out of the depths of  
 their agnosticism, "Blamegiving Day" instead? They were ready  
 to sing, in 1931:

"Blame God from whom all cyclones blow,  
 Blame him when rivers overflow;  
 Blame him who swirls down house and steeple,  
 Who sinks the ships and drowns the people."

If the new religion ever sets up a church in your neighborhood,  
 perhaps you can counteract it:

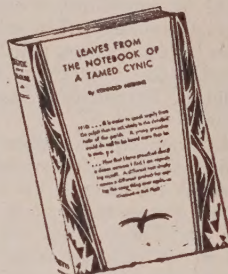
"Praise him who in a questioning time  
 Lets skeptics chant in childish rhyme;  
 Who crushes ne'er an evil rumor,  
 E'en suffering those devoid of humor."

*Eccentricus*



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## JESUS OR CHRISTIANITY

By KIRBY PAGE

Partially paralyzed and relatively impotent stands organized Christianity in the face of the perilous international, economic, racial, and other social problems which threaten our civilization. Why? An appalling mass of evidence is cited herein to show that the primary reason is found in the frequency with which the churches have blessed and supported horrible iniquities and that they are still entangled in many giant evils. A plea is made that Christianity move forward to the religion of Jesus.

## LEAVES FROM THE NOTEBOOK OF A TAMED CYNIC

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

There is fine poise of judgment and delicate balancing of values throughout these *Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic*. This book is not abstract religious and secular philosophy. It is a report upon life and experience—upon America in the making. It is a book without pretense. Authority and dogma are absent. The book reveals an honest, unhampered and penetrating mind actually at work upon the vital problems of American civilization in their Christian import.

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## PACIFISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

Edited by DEVERE ALLEN

It is impossible to dismiss as a vague and fruitless idealism the way of life which figured so conspicuously in the teachings of Jesus, Buddha, Lao-Tse, and other great prophets of the ancient world; which inspired the early Christians and many later non-violent groups such as the Bohemian Brethren and the Quakers; and which in more recent times has found expression through Tolstoy, Einstein, Rolland, Gandhi, certain religious, peace, and labor movements, and increasing thousands of war resisters in many lands.

Pacifism, often attacked in peace time and deemed rank heresy in time of war, is presented not as a negative withdrawal from conflict but instead a vigorous, practical method of social progress.